

THE REMONSTRANCE.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, 1907.

The Remonstrance is published annually by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It expresses the views of women in Massachusetts, Maine, Rhode Island, New York, Illinois, Iowa, Oregon, Washington, and other states who believe that the great majority of their sex do not want the ballot, and that to force it upon them would not only be an injustice to women, but would lessen their influence for good and imperil the community. The Remonstrants ask a thoughtful consideration of their views in the interest of fair discussion.

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THE SUFFRAGE DEFEAT IN OREGON.

THE rejection of the proposed woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution of Oregon, at the election June 4, 1906, was the most significant defeat which the suffrage movement has experienced for many years.

The suffragists entered upon the contest with high hopes. Proceeding under the initiative and referendum, they had been able to get the amendment before the people without the intervention of any legislature. The provisions of the law enabled them to place their arguments in the hands of every voter in the state when he registered, through the

machinery of the office of the secretary of state. They were relieved of the necessity of securing for their amendment a majority of all the votes cast at the election and were required only to gain a majority of the votes cast upon the proposition. At the last previous contest, six years before, the majority against them was only 2,137, and it seemed a light task to overcome this majority, with the special advantages afforded by the changed conditions.

The National Suffrage Association sent speakers and organizers into the state and maintained them there for nearly a year. They made lavish contributions of campaign funds. They extended their organization into every town and almost into every precinct. They persuaded most of the newspapers of the state to give them editorial support and abundant space for the presentation of their views. Up to the opening of the polls, they professed absolute confidence of success. And yet they were defeated by a majority of 10,173 — almost five times as large a majority as that of 1900.

There was one factor which the suffragists failed to take into their calculations. This was the opposition of the conservative women of Oregon to having the responsibilities of the ballot thrust upon them. These women, organized in the Oregon Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women, with Mrs. R. W. Wilbur, of Portland, as president, entered upon an active campaign against the amendment. The association published and distributed widely a paper called *The Woman's Protest*. It availed itself of the opportunity given by the referendum law to present arguments against as well as for a pending proposition, to print 100,000 copies of a pamphlet against

woman suffrage, which was placed with the secretary of state to be given to every voter at the time of registration. It circulated objections to woman suffrage through the newspapers of the state, and on the eve of the election it sent by mail to 55,000 voters an appeal against the amendment, signed by Mrs. Wilbur and fifteen other women from thirteen different cities and towns. All these activities were ridiculed by the suffragists, who insisted that they would only make the suffrage vote larger.

In spite of misrepresentation and abuse and at great personal sacrifice, the Oregon Association persisted in its work, and beyond question the chief cause of the greatly increased majority against suffrage at the election was the popular conviction that the association represented the great majority of the women of the state in opposing the amendment.

The total vote, according to the corrected official figures from the office of the secretary of state, was Yes, 36,902; No, 47,075. Only ten counties were carried for the amendment; the majority was against it in twenty-three.

AGAINST THE TIDE.

ONE of the most curious fallacies of the woman suffrage agitation is the assumption that it represents progress. The exact opposite is true. The woman suffrage movement is a movement against the tide of social progress. If it were to succeed, it would mark a return to unfavorable conditions from which women have slowly and with difficulty emerged.

The farther back we go sociologically, the less the difference between the burdens and responsibilities of men and women. The primitive man did not need to be entreated to allow woman to share his work. He was well content that she should do so, and that she should carry the heavier end of his load. It is only as civilization has progressed that a fine discrimination has been made between what is expected from man and what is looked for from woman;

and that woman has been given a chance to fill a special place and do a special work for the race and for society, without the handicap of alien duties, and protected by the labor and the strength of man. To demand that she should now go outside her own sphere — to use a word curiously obnoxious to suffragists — and annex a part of the sphere of man, is to demand that she should relinquish advantages which have been hardly won.

That home influence was never more important than it is to-day is attested by experts in heredity, who emphasize the importance of prenatal conditions and early environment; by practical philanthropists, who trace the gravest evils to bad homes, try to cure them by making better homes, and, whenever possible, place orphans in homes instead of institutions; by physicians, who ascribe nervous disorders to the prevailing strenuousness of women's lives; and by students of social conditions, who deplore a diminishing birth rate and the multiplication of divorces.

As to industrial conditions, it is beginning to be perceived that the influence of women has not been an unmixed blessing; and that so far as it has resulted in lower wages, through the increase of workers competing for the same piece of work, it has been a positive injury. The ideal presented by the advanced woman suffragists of the wife going out from her home to her work in the morning, and letting herself in with her latch-key at night precisely as her husband does, is, in fact, an ideal which faces backward. The wisest leadership to-day is that which leads women back to the home rather than farther away from it.

THE ENGLISH "SUFFRAGETTES."

THE English "suffragettes," as the more advanced woman suffragists are now generally called in the English papers, were a good deal in evidence last year. They broke into hisses and cries of denunciation in the gallery of the House of Commons, when the subject of the suffrage was

under discussion, and kept up the uproar until they were removed by the police. At Northampton and Manchester they were ejected from the hall at Liberal meetings for creating a disturbance. They mobbed the residence of Mr. Asquith, the chancellor of the exchequer, and threatened Mr. Asquith himself with personal violence. They hissed the Prime Minister when, after a speech expressing his general sympathy with their cause, he advised patience. Four of them were arrested and imprisoned for making a disturbance on the street and forcibly resisting the police. The climax was reached in October, on the re-assembling of Parliament, when about one hundred women made their way into the lobby of the House of Commons, button-holing the members and haranguing them, standing on vacant chairs, and forcibly resisting the efforts of the police to remove them. They even attempted to crowd into the chamber of the House, and ten of them were arrested and sentenced to two months' imprisonment for riotous conduct.

While it would not be just to hold the more moderate suffragists accountable for these violent demonstrations of the extremists, it is inevitable that sober-minded Englishmen should ask themselves whether the type of women participating in these disturbances is not the type which would pretty surely come to the front if full suffrage were granted. In this connection *The National Review* for July said editorially:

"There was a real danger of woman's suffrage, as an ever-increasing number of politicians, many out of sheer cowardice or pure laziness, and very few from conviction, had succumbed to the tyranny of the shrieking sisterhood. We might easily have drifted into a revolution, for which, so far as we are able to make out, there is exceeding little demand either by men or women, before we knew where we were. The suffragettes have saved the situation. They have reminded us of the gravity of the proposal by demonstrating the utter unfitness of its most ardent advocates to exercise the functions they claim."

THE PRESS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

WHY THE BALLOT IS WITHHELD.

(From the Waterbury [Conn.] American, June 13, 1906.)

In this country, the ballot is withheld because the great majority of women do not want it, and the agitators cannot persuade them that they do want it.

NOT "TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION."

(From the New York Sun, June 16, 1906.)

THE majority of the women of Great Britain, like the majority in this country, don't hold that to keep the sisters from having votes is a case of taxation without representation.

NO PROSPECT IN MASSACHUSETTS.

(From the Worcester Telegram, February 11, 1906.)

THERE has been more activity in the past few years against woman suffrage than for it in this state, and there is little prospect of the legislature making any progress toward an extension of the ballot.

OBSTACLES TO THE MOVEMENT.

(From the Dubuque [Iowa] Times, January 21, 1906.)

THE woman suffrage movement has two obstacles to meet: One is the indifference of most women and the other is failure to show that the establishment of woman suffrage in several western states has resulted in any public advantage. There is lack of evidence that government in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah or Idaho is better administered than in states in which the equal suffrage experiment has not been made.

NO CHANCE IN OREGON.

(From the Portland Oregonian, August 12, 1906.)

MAUGRE all opinions published in the discussion between the prohibitionists and the woman suffragists, the Oregonian holds to its own opinion that Oregon is neither for woman suffrage nor prohibition; nor will be. Furthermore, that the two cannot be combined. If woman suffrage ever carries in Oregon it will be on a small vote, through the neglect of its opponents, who may think it has no chance and therefore may not take the trouble to vote. The actual majority standing against it is heavy, and, in the opinion of the Oregonian, permanent.

ONLY A HANDFUL OF WOMEN VOTE.

(From the Cleveland [Ohio] Leader, September 20, 1906.)

THE crusade of the Cleveland women for the right to vote for members of the school council is well remembered. They fought a good fight and they won it. At the first two or three elections they

turned out in fair numbers and voted. But as soon as the novelty wore off their interest slackened. Now the vote they poll at school elections is only about 6,000 whereas it might be about 90,000. They have only one representative in the school council, whereas they could have at least two. That one is virtually placed there by the male voters. There is only a handful of women who take an active part in school campaigns.

THE IMPORTANCE OF ORGANIZATION.

ONE obvious lesson of the Oregon election is the importance of organization among conservative women who are opposed to woman suffrage.

The task which the members of the Oregon Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women undertook was not a pleasant one. They were taunted with entering into politics when they professed to shrink from politics. Their motives were misrepresented. It would have been easier for them to avoid all this by remaining passive. This they refused to do; and they can now justly feel that they have helped to avert from their state and themselves a great evil.

The Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women has had its share of misrepresentation. But it has the satisfaction of knowing that, from the time when it began its activities the woman suffrage strength in the Massachusetts Legislature has steadily waned.

Wherever the suffrage movement is menacing, it may be defeated by the organization of conservative women against it. It has been well said that women are in greater danger from the mistaken chivalry of men than from their injustice. To prevent the enactment of suffrage legislation, it is only necessary to make it clear that the appeal for the ballot comes from only a small minority of women. The Massachusetts Association will gladly aid with advice and with literature the conservative women of any state who realize the importance of this work and are ready to enter upon it.

SUFFRAGE AND SOCIALISM.

AMERICAN suffragists are in the habit of resenting any intimation that the drift of the suffrage movement is toward socialism, but one of the best-known suffrage leaders, Mrs. Ida Husted Harper, admits that this tendency is strongly manifest in Europe. In a letter from Copenhagen, printed in the Boston Transcript of August 11, 1906, Mrs. Harper said:

"In attempting to organize an International Suffrage Alliance an embarrassing situation has been encountered in the fact that the movement to enfranchise women is in many parts of Europe in the hands of the Socialists,—not the moderate type, which for the most part represent socialism in America, but the radical and extreme class who would overturn absolutely the existing institutions, among them that of marriage. Woman suffrage is a logical part of their program, but they ask for it only in connection with the rest of their demands, and these include measures which the leaders of the international work could not possibly tolerate."

IN MASSACHUSETTS.

FOUR woman suffrage proposals were considered by the Massachusetts Legislature in 1906: A bill to allow women to enter caucuses of political parties and help nominate candidates of those parties for school committee; a bill for License Suffrage for Women; a bill for Municipal Suffrage for Wage-Earning Women; and a resolve providing for the submission of an amendment to the constitution, striking out the word "male" from the qualifications for voters.

The three bills were reported adversely by the Election Laws Committee by a unanimous vote, and the adverse reports were accepted by both House and Senate without debate or a roll-call.

The constitutional amendment resolve was reported adversely by the Committee on Constitutional Amendments, 9 to 2; in the House, a motion to substitute the resolve was lost and the adverse report was accepted without a division; and in the Senate the adverse report was accepted without debate or a division.

With the suffragists able to secure but 2 votes out of a possible 22 in the committees, and unable to muster enough votes in either branch to order a roll-call, their cause is surely at a low ebb.

A CONFLICT OF OPINION.

MISS ALICE STONE BLACKWELL, in *The Woman's Journal* and elsewhere, puts first among the forces which contributed to the defeat of the suffrage amendment in Oregon the brewers, wholesale liquor dealers, and saloon-keepers.

But Mrs. Abigail Scott Duniway, the local leader of the Oregon suffragists, wrote in *The Portland Oregonian* of August 7: "It was not the saloon-keepers who created the storm. They were more disastrously wrecked than the suffragists. Their set-back was greater than ours." The trouble with the suffrage movement, according to Mrs. Duniway, was that it "was stranded upon the prohibition crags."

Mrs. Duniway goes on to predict that in 1908 the women of Oregon "will help to carry and sustain" the change in the local option law which the liquor interests vainly tried to secure last June. But if the suffragists do this, what will be the effect upon the "white ribboners" of whose fanaticism Mrs. Duniway speaks so contemptuously? And what will be the effect in other states, where a large part of the strength of the suffrage movement is derived from the hope of the W. C. T. U. women that woman suffrage will help their cause?

AUSTRIAN WOMEN DEPRIVED OF THE BALLOT.

A STRIKING feature of the new electoral reform bill in Austria is that it takes away the right of women who are landed proprietors to vote at parliamentary elections. At a meeting of the electoral reform committee last September, some of the deputies urged that the existing privilege be retained and that it be extended to women who were carrying on business independently or were earning an income of as much as \$200 yearly. But the minister of the interior, speaking in behalf of the government, said that all attempts to extend woman suffrage on the continent had failed, especially where universal suffrage was introduced. The Socialist leader, Victor Adler, although an advocate of woman suffrage, also considered the present time unpropitious for extending the right.

RECENT DEFEATS OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

IN 1904.

In Iowa, a proposed constitutional amendment failed to receive the required constitutional majority in the House, and was indefinitely postponed in the Senate; in Massachusetts, both houses, without a roll-call, accepted reports, "leave to withdraw," on municipal and municipal-and-license suffrage bills; in New York, bills to allow women to vote for school officers and on questions of raising and spending money in third-class cities failed; in Ohio, a bill to allow women to vote at local option elections was defeated; in Rhode Island, the House voted to postpone indefinitely a presidential suffrage bill; and in Vermont, a tax-paying municipal suffrage bill was defeated in the House.

IN 1905.

In California, a proposed amendment to the constitution, giving women the right to vote for school trustees and boards of education and at school bond and school tax levy elections, failed to get the required two-thirds vote in the Senate and was rejected by the House by a vote of 38 to 39.

In Connecticut, a bill permitting women to vote at all municipal elections was defeated in the House, May 18, by a vote of only 29 to 111, the smallest affirmative vote for years, and in the Senate, May 31, only 2 votes were cast in the affirmative.

In Illinois, a bill permitting women to vote for members of the state board of equalization, board of assessors, sanitary district trustees, all municipal officers except police magistrates, upon all questions submitted to vote at municipal elections, and at all town meetings, was defeated.

In Indiana, a resolution to strike out the word "male" from the description of citizens entitled to vote was indefinitely postponed by the Senate, February 1, by a vote of 32 to 13.

In Kansas, a presidential suffrage bill was defeated in the Senate without discussion, 28 to 6. The bill had passed the House. Later, a bill was favorably reported to the Senate to take from women the right to vote at municipal elections, but it did not reach a vote.

In Maine, the petitioners for municipal suffrage for women were given "leave to withdraw."

In Massachusetts, the House, February 21, accepted without debate an adverse report upon a proposed suffrage amendment to the constitution. March 2, the House accepted without debate or division a report, "leave to withdraw," upon a license suffrage bill. The Senate, March 21, by a vote of 5 to 17, rejected a bill to allow women to participate in caucuses for school committee.

In Missouri, a proposed constitutional amendment was adversely reported February 21.

In Montana, the House, February 14, struck out the enacting clause of a bill submitting a suffrage amendment to the constitution, by a vote of 38 to 28.

In New Hampshire, a municipal suffrage bill was defeated.

In New York, the Senate Committee on Cities voted 1 to 11 against a bill to allow women taxpayers in cities of the third class to vote on questions of appropriations; and later, the Senate refused, by a vote of 11 to 26, to discuss the question.

In Rhode Island, the Senate, April 20, voted to refer a presidential suffrage bill to the next general assembly.

In West Virginia, at Wheeling, January 26, a proposition to allow women to vote at city elections was rejected at the polls by a vote of 2,500 against 4,172. In the legislature a resolution for a suffrage amendment was reported adversely.

In Wisconsin, a bill permitting women to vote at all town, village, and city elections (the bill being subject to a referendum to be taken in November, 1906) was defeated in the Assembly by a vote of 43 to 34.

IN 1906.

In Iowa, February 13, the House, by a vote of 37 to 50, rejected a resolution providing for the submission of a suffrage amendment to the constitution. Later, a presidential suffrage bill was passed by the House but failed in the Senate.

In Massachusetts, the legislative committees reported unanimously against a license suffrage bill, a bill for municipal suffrage for wage-earning women, and a bill to admit women to caucuses of political parties for the nomination of school committee; and 9 to 2 against a resolve for an amendment to the constitution. All of these adverse reports were accepted by both houses.

In New York, a bill to allow tax-paying women in cities of the third class to vote upon propositions involving an expenditure of money was again lost.

In Ohio, the House, February 13, by a vote of 65 to 50, defeated a bill permitting women to vote at local option elections; and February 14, by a vote of 62 to 51, rejected a bill allowing women to vote on equal terms with men on all questions affecting the schools.

In Oregon, June 4, a proposed constitutional amendment, conferring full suffrage upon women, which was submitted to the people at the polls under the initiative referendum, was defeated by a majority of 10,173. The affirmative vote was 36,902; the negative vote, 47,075. In 1900, when a similar proposition was voted on, the majority against it was only 2,137.

In Rhode Island, a presidential suffrage bill passed the House but was defeated in the Senate.

In Vermont, the House passed a municipal suffrage bill, 130 to 25, but the Senate rejected it, 17 to 12.

OUTSIDE HELP NOT WANTED.

THE *Portland Oregonian* of September 9, 1906, reported that it was almost an assured fact that the next suffrage campaign in that state would be "conducted almost entirely by resident suffragists." Confirmation of this view is found in the address of Mrs. Duniway, President of the Oregon State Equal Suffrage Association, November 18, in which she paid her compliments in this fashion to the national leaders who went out to Oregon to take charge of the 1906 campaign:

"At the close of the late equal suffrage campaign, during which many of our time-honored voting constituents temporarily stepped aside to watch the brilliant pyrotechnical management of our distinguished National standard-bearers, we found ourselves in the condition of the survivors of a shipwreck, a conflagration, a sirocco, or a flood. Our treasury was empty, and our work of reconstruction has ever since been much handicapped by the necessity of removing the debris of a struggle which ought to have been successful."